000
584 slowly disappearing. In some families, the
178 parents of the girl still arrange the match. There are, however, no exchange of presents, nor any similar ceremony, only mutual agreement. In the majority of cases, the young people decide for themselves with whom they want to live. Whether the match is pre-
583 arranged or not, a system of trial-marriage is
591 always customary. The young man moves into the house of the girl. He helps her family with work in the fields or hunting, and he lives with the girl. There is no sort of ceremony. When the couple feel contented with one another, and ready for the responsibility of their own household, they build themselves a house and leave the parental one. Nowadays,
585 when the priest appears on his bi-yearly visit, the couple frequently marries in the church, and it is quite a sight to see long-married couples with children, and who have suddenly decided to have a formal marriage ceremony, line up before the church door to be "married." On these occasions, a "marriage shawl" is sometimes used. This is a substitute for the
[177] colonial Spanish-American custom whereby the priest in Roman Catholic marriages places a gold chain over the couple. The shawl is handwoven with a white background and a few purple and red lines. The red lines are shorter and border the ends. They are woven in a diamond-shaped pattern. The present shawl is about fifty years old, and is badly eaten by moths and bugs. It is so seldom used that it will probably be permitted to fall into decay without being replaced.

837 The tribe itself is not concerned with "morality" in the western meaning. Both men and women often have a lover in addition to their spouse. Unlike the neighboring *Cavagra*, who
● [184] have remained more isolated from white influence and are often blindly jealous of their women, the *Boruca* pay little attention to sexual wanderings. A man gives his love food,
[848 and nowadays, occasionally money. A woman
849] takes her illegitimate child home to her husband's house. The cases of illegitimate children are interesting in that a woman apparently has a child only when she wants one
586 (see p. 26). The writer could find no case of divorce in Boruca, although she was told that

173 tent that this small valley could not support
166 the inhabitants. Some left for the site of China Kichá and there were joined by more people from Talamanca. We estimate that there are
[162] about 700 Indians within the area of Ujarrás and China Kichá.

101 **Other Sites.** There is a relatively strong per-
144 centage of Talamancan blood remaining in the people of the Reventazón Valley, but there are none of the Talamancan living habits left. Here at Orosi, and farther north at Cachí and Tucurrique, are descendents of the Cabécares
648 from the Coen region. Tres Rios, in the Central
167 Plateau, was originally settled by Bribri and
101 Cabécar Indians brought there by the colonial government in 1747.[45] Similarly, at Cangel in Guanacaste, there are some few Bribri relationships.[46] The presence of this blood in these
[669] areas is due to the transferral of many Talamancans by the government of Costa Rica as penalty for four uprisings, the first three between 1610 and 1619 and the last in 1709, which resulted in the destruction of the Fran-
[799] ciscan missions and the massacre of Spanish
[177] men and women.[47] In these sections of displaced peoples, acculturation has been triumphant and there is next to nothing to suggest the aboriginal connections of the inhabitants of these places beyond the ordinary characteristics of the mestizo.

LANGUAGE

197 the Chirripó who are not neighbors and have
[191] little or no contact with Bribri. Few Bribri, however, do the same with Cabécar. In this respect, nevertheless, it should be pointed out that the vocabulary used by the Bribri when dealing with sacred subjects, prayers, or myths
[533] is almost totally Cabécar. Ancient songs, on
[784] the other hand, are often sung by the Bribri

Organization.)

[45] Fernández, 1907, vol. IX, pp. 491–92.

[46] Fernández, 1889, pp. 379–80.

[47] Fernández, 1883, vol. III, pp. 325–26, ftn. 7; 1886; vol. V; pp. 162–215.

[48] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, pp. 178–356; Mason, 1940, pp. 76–77.

in Térraba (Tiribi), a custom pointing to the former contact in times long past between the two groups. It is common for a singer not to understand the words that he is singing, giving as an excuse that they are from "the grandfathers" in "their old language." This is the outstanding characteristic of the Bribri. From pre-Columbian times, he appears to have been a culture borrower and he certainly is today. This is particularly true with respect to nonmaterial culture and is not only noted in many of their songs and religious manifestations but also in their dances (*see* Dances), especially on the Pacific slope.

The most complete studies of the Bribri tongue have been made by Pittier and Lehmann.[49] Schuller, of course, includes all Costa Rican languages in his Maya-Carib-Arawak complex.[50] With reference to the Cabécar speech, outside of Lehmann, Gabb and Thiel are the only sources to produce more than a passing vocabulary.[51]

Linguistic Symbols. Throughout this study, indigenous terms are written in symbols which are used by the Cabécares and Bribri in their schools when writing their mother tongue. They are based on a study made by Ricardo Pozas of the *Instituto Indigenista Nacional of Mexico* and checked by Dr. Mark Hanna Watkins who was lent to the Costa Rica government by the *Instituto Indigenista Nacional of Guatemala* for this express purpose. It is the alphabet actually in use in the Indian schools in Costa Rica. Except for certain distinct symbols, the majority are those found in the international phonetic alphabet.[52]

The greater portion of the following explanation is a free translation of the key to the symbols used in the Cabécar primer[53] (*ʒis mą iłə*) written by Ricardo Pozas Arciniéga.

ə is a central vowel which is pronounced as the vowel in the word "but" in English. This vowel varies up to a high front position, and is frequently substituted by the vowel *u* in many words.

ą, ę, į, ǫ, ų, nasalized vowels.

[49] Pittier, 1898; Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1.
[50] Schuller, 1928.
[51] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1; Gabb, 1875; Thiel, 1884

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
SA19 Talamanca SA19
[P. 10(A)]
Bribri
Cabecar

114 **Previous Studies.** There are few ethnological studies referring to these peoples. Gabb,[54] Pittier,[55] and Skinner [56] are the sources for the Bribri. The reports of both Gabb and Pittier are important in particular with respect to the account of religious customs and ceremonies which are no longer practised. Skinner emphasizes the material culture of this group in the first half of the present century.

There is far less information concerning the Cabécares. Outside of certain documents published by Fernández,[57] the invaluable report of Gabb, already mentioned, with reference to the Bribri, and the not-too-detailed account by Bishop Bernardo A. Thiel [58] of his own travels or of those who accompanied him,[59] little is available.

121 **Purpose of This Paper.** The purpose of the present study is to give a picture of the manner of living and the way of thinking of the Talamancan in 1956–59. In doing so, we shall take [101] into consideration the two geographically dis- [177] tinct groups as each one demonstrates a different stage of acculturation.

● 184 **Locational Differences.** The manner of living 131 of the Talamancan people depends upon their geographical location. The northern side of the range is the most isolated, in spite of the valley. Here the rainfall is greater, the forest denser, and the terrain more broken and rugged. 489 Transportation is restricted to foot with the exception of the Talamanca Plain where a horse, dugout, or jeep can be used in parts. In most of the region, bridges are non-existent 491 and rivers must be crossed by fighting the current. In upper Talamanca and Chirripó hammock bridges of vines are used.

101 The inhabitants of upper Talamanca and 177 upper Chirripó have been isolated since con- quest times and little attention was paid to the 648 Sixaola Plain during the early days of the republic. In fact, until about 1916, only a handful of non-Indian people including a few Costa

[54] Gabb, 1875.
[55] Pittier, 1938.
[56] Skinner, 1920.

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
[P.10(B)]
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri
Cabecar

MANNER OF LIVING

101 Ricans, Englishmen, North Americans, and one
177 German had lived in this area. The United
648 Fruit Company, however, saw the value of the
valley for banana planting. With the advent of
[166] the Company in 1912, the aborigines retired to the hills and did not re-enter the plain until Panama Disease killed the fruit crops and in 1930 the valley was abandoned. From 1930 to 1956, with the exception of the Union Oil Company workers who did not really penetrate the area of Indian habitation, few outsiders have settled. Within this number can be included some Jamaican Negroes and a scattering of Costa Ricans from the interior. The people of lower Chirripó have what might be termed a "marginal contact" with Jamaican Negroes and non-indigenous Costa Ricans in the valley of Zent which forms part of the Limón Plain, and in Moravia and Tuís, on the highway to Turrialba. Here Costa Ricans from the interior have extensive coffee, cattle, and lumber operations.

[131] The southern region differs from the Caribbean side. A horse can reach almost any house. There is less rainfall and more savanna land.
[871] Good schools are available and the people have easier access to non-indigenous groups.

Although there are some Costa Ricans from the Central Plateau, most of the non-Talamancan inhabitants are Chiricanos, a mixed Indian, white, and black element which entered this region from Panama during the past century either because of political persecution or as fugitives from justice. In recent years, a few Costa Ricans from the interior and various North Americans have settled near Ujarrás and China Kichá.

177 The difference in geography, climate, and
● 184 neighbors has, therefore, been responsible for
101 distinctions in beliefs and living habits between one area and the other. Attention will be called to these differences when necessary. Otherwise, the two geographical divisions of the Talamancans will be treated as one.

177 **Acculturation.** As can be imagined, there are

[87] Fernández, 1883, vol. III, fn. 10, pp. 334–39; 1886, vol. V, pp. 373–74.
[88] Thiel, 1927.
[89] Polakowsky, 1883.

[P.16(A)] SA19 Talamanca SA19 Bribri Cabecar

372 [177] it. Matches are fairly common outside of Alta Talamanca.

251 [243] **Food Storage.** Storage of food in a separate shelter is not practised except in lower Chiripó where the custom to grow maize as a cash crop is developing. It must be remembered that the principal diet of these people consists of tubers and *pejibayes*. It is not easy to preserve tubers for eating once they are picked. [415] Most foodstuffs are kept in net bags or hung on rafters, occasionally in bark containers, or dehydrated over the fire. This last method is the one used for keeping *pejibayes* during the months they are not in season. When needed, the dehydrated fruit is put in a pot and boiled. On the Pacific slope, however, [184] such preservation of *pejibayes* is seldom practised. Here the people depend upon [262] bananas and plantains during the lean months which in this area are from March to August.

272 **Beverages.** Contrary to popular opinion and the picture Spanish reports tend to draw, the most esteemed beverage among the Talamancan peoples is chocolate. This is the drink cited in their sacred theology (*see* Myths, *Theological Beliefs*) and the preferred drink given to the dead for their non-returnable [796] journey. In fact, all ceremonies of any consequence require chocolate. It is also the most [574] appreciated drink to offer a friend or to give to people of importance. The drink is pre-

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P.16(B)--QUALIST]

HOUSES

342 [184] **House Types and Construction.** House types vary, depending upon the location. The orthodox Talamancan dwelling is large and round with a high conical roof of palm leaves, often with an old pot at the apex. In ancient times 175 it seems to have been a communal clan dwelling called by the Spaniards a "palenque," 342 whether or not there was a fence, housing up to three hundred people. The Spanish account furthermore reads:

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P.16(B)--QUALIST]

[74] Stone, 1949b, p. 10.

[75] De Espinosa, 1742, pp. 77–78. ". . . en que se congregan todos los de la familia de aquel linage, sin permitirse se mezcle uno con otro, y con esto se [361]

272 pared without any flavoring or sugar. The chocolate is made into a paste after the bean has been dried, fermented, and ground. Pieces of the paste are broken off as needed, water added, and the mixture stirred with a wooden stick generally made from a root with pronged ends. The paste is wrapped in white *bijagua* [824] [484] leaves (*Calathea insignis* Petersen) and is carried on trips or left in the house for future use.

273 [272] The most common beverage is chicha, although it never takes the place of chocolate, being used as a supplement to this drink, which is apt to be scarce, rather than as a competitor. In itself, chicha is nutritious and is taken by all ages and sexes, often in lieu of sufficient food. It is essential when heavy and group work is to be done and is also drunk at parties and ceremonies. Chicha can be made from a variety of foodstuffs, including plantains, *ñampi*, and pumpkin. The favorites, however, are *pejibaye*, yuca, and maize. In upper Talamanca and Chirripó, fermentation is usually brought about through human saliva obtained by chewing the foodstuff and spitting it into a large clay pot made for this [184] [484] purpose. On the Pacific slope and in the Talamanca Plain, a form of yeast is used to cause fermentation.[74] For traveling, chicha paste is wrapped in leaves or carried in a leaf-lined *hava* and water is added as needed.

272 A thick drink is made by adding water to mashed boiled ripe plantains.

HOUSES

175 342 [361] . . . in which are congregated all those of the same family lineage, without being permitted to mix with one another, and in this way they make themselves unavailable (to one another). The Palenques are located on the hill tops, which are almost inaccessible, and are ten to twelve leagues apart.[75]

342 [192] The modern house is known in both languages as *usuri*, *u* meaning "house" and *suri*, "the pointed fishing arrow." The name is particularly significant because of the extremely

hacen para sí incomerciables. Los Palenques los forman en la eminencia de los montes, que son casi inaccesibles, y distan a diez y doce leguas unos de otros. . . ."

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
[P. 17(A)]
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri
Cabecar

342 pointed roof (fig. 5). Actually, the dwelling is designed to shed heavy rainfall easily and to house four separate families (*see* Marriage).

[824] The roof palm (*see* Cultivated Crops) is called *hugə* in Cabécar and *ukó* in Bribri. The leaves are suspended on canes to dry before use on the building (fig. 6, *a–b*). The one door and the low walls are made of wooden rods and occasionally of wild cane tied together with vines. There is usually a palm-leaf shed projecting from the single doorway which protects the entrance from the heavy rains. Gabb gives an excellent description of the construction of such a dwelling which we repeat below as the technique of house making has not changed. Before Gabb, however, it is well to note that he speaks in particular of the Bribri house, stating that the Cabécar dwelling formerly was like this but today is similar to a "mere shed." The writer observed that both peoples constructed the large circular house in 1956, but that this style of

[184] Cabécar housing was more common in the Chirripó region than in the upper Coen. According to Gabb, these houses are:

> . . . usually circular, from thirty to fifty feet in diameter, and about the same in height. They are composed of long poles, reaching from the ground to the apex. These rest on a ring of withes or vines, tied in bundles, eight or ten inches thick, and resting on a series of upright crotched posts, set in the ground in a circle about a third smaller than the outer circumference of the house. Above this ring, if the house is large, are one or two more, according to its size, not resting on posts, but tied to the sloping poles. The whole is thickly thatched with palm leaves, and finished at the apex by an old earthen jar to stop the leaks. . . .[76]

[178] This type of house is being slowly replaced by a rectangular structure open at both ends.

In the Talamanca Plain, where only the Bribri or Cabécares married to Bribri live, a raised rectangular house made of the bark of

[824] *hira*, the Bribri name for the black stilt palm (*Socratea* sp. or species of similar growth habit), but roofed with the leaves of *hugə*, forms a dwelling ideal for the hot, wet climate

[177] of the Caribbean lowlands and is, undoubtedly, the result of foreign influence (fig. 7, *d*). It should be noted that here in the plain there

[76] Gabb, 1875, p. 514.

352 nearer to non-Indian habitations, intrusions
177 of other customs are evident. The hearth is
sometimes raised and hanging shelves contain
[354] gourds, palm-leaf dishes sewn at the ends
[415] with vines similar to those of the Panamanian
Guaymí, and often one or two knives, forks,
[412] plates, cups, etc. A pole with cut-in or notched
417 steps is used for a ladder to reach the mez-
342 zanines which are occasionally seen in this
177 type of house. It is significant that the Cabé-
[192] cares, who have had less contact with non-
indigenous neighbors in the past, have no word
for this ladder or mezzanine.

354 In the houses nearer to the Talamanca Plain
[824] and in the part of Chirripó near Moravia, an
oil lamp is occasionally seen hanging by
pita (agave thread). There is no word for
[192] lamp in either Bribri or Cabécar, but in Tala-
manca, the word for fire is used.

● [184] On the Pacific side of the range, at Salitre,
[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 19(B)--ANN/ST]

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

291 **Dress.** Dress does not ever appear to have
formed an important part of Talamanca cul-
ture. From the middle of the 17th century
[287] to the present, we can trace the use of bark
cloth. In this respect, the following commen-
taries are of interest:

> (the Cabécares) . . . for working and in their houses dress in tree bark called in these lands Mastate, and only to go to mass or when in the presence of the priest do they dress in cotton.[78]
>
> The dresses of the Urinamas, Cavécares, and Talamancas are short jackets, so narrow that they expose all the chest, (made) of tree bark which the Spaniards call *mastate*, and a sash of the same about six fingers wide and a yard and a half long, with which they cover their private parts; the women go about with a skirt of the same and some (are) of cotton which they tie (reaching) from the waist to the knees. . . .[79]

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P. 19(B)-ANN/ST]

[78] Fernández, 1907, vol. IX, p. 501. ". . . y es de advertir que para sus trabajos y vivir en sus casas se visten de Cáscaras de palo llamado en estas tierras Mastate, y sólo para ir á Misa ó ponerse en la presencia del Padre se visten de algodón."

[79] Fernández, 1886, vol. V, p. 373. "Los vestidos de Urinamas, Cavécares y Talamancas son unas almillas cortas y tan angostas que descubren todo el pecho, de corteza de árbol que llaman los españoles *mastate*, y una banda de lo mismo como de seis dedos de ancha

184 Ujarrás, and China Kichá, the hearth is more
[354] often constructed of clay on a wooden table.
[352] Here wooden beds and mezzanines made of
[415] wooden rods are used for sleeping along with
[412] hammocks. Plates, spoons, cups, etc., are seen
[352] in every household although their number is
[353] limited according to the family purse. The
[824] low stool is always present but a chair and a
[237] table are found now and then. Hanging shelves
[353] serve for storing food and all manner of odds
[231] and ends. Yeast for chicha, generally wrapped in *bijagua* leaves, is hung on the wall posts. The fondness for decorating the wall with feathers, eggshells, bones, and skins, however, remains the same as on the Caribbean side. Attached to the exterior of the house are hen's nests made of vine baskets or *havas*, a wild plant or orchid, and generally a piece of tree trunk containing wild bees.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

291 An early report concerning the expedition of Fray Margil to the Province of Talamanca states:

> Their dress is very poor, because the men (are dressed) with their cloth of skins, and the women with their short cloths, and those who do not have them, with plantain leaves appear as contented as the best dressed Spaniards.[80]

[287] Today, bark cloth (*see* Manufactures and Trade), still called *mastate* in Spanish, is used in upper Talamanca and upper Chirripó as shirts or Mother Hubbards, as loin cloths, and
[513] as bed covering. In the rest of the area inhabit-
[294] ed by the Talamancas, it is only used as
[462] blankets. Sewing is done by both men and
[434] women but chiefly by the men.
The ordinary woman's garment consists of

> y vara y medio de largo, con que cubren las partes de honestidad; las mujeres andan con una manta de lo mismo y algunas de algodón que la atan desde la cintura a las rodillas. . . ."
>
> [80] De Espinosa, 1742, p. 64. "Su vestir es pobrisimo, porq los hombres con sus cendales de pieles, y las mujeres con sus pañalitos cortos, y las que no los tienen, con hojas de platanos se hallan tan contentos como los mas bien vestidos Españoles."

291 a cheap cotton cloth which is bought from
[439] the nearest trading post or commissary and made into a Mother Hubbard. Short skirts and blouses are occasionally seen, particularly on the Pacific side. Some of the older Bribri women in upper Talamanca weave brown and white striped skirts from cotton (*see* Manufactures).[81] The art of weaving is said to have
286 been learned from the Borucas. The Bribri
177 do not know the single-weft technique, however.[82]

291 A man's clothing is generally a pair of trousers and a shirt. A belt can be a piece of vine, string, bark cloth, or brown and white striped cotton woven by the men. Except on
● [184] the Pacific side, leather belts are almost never worn. Sandals are unknown, and shoes are rare in the region of Talamanca but are more common on the Pacific slope.

302 **Adornment.** Women's hair is long (figs. 9, *d*; 10, *b–c*) and usually parted in the center, braided, and rolled into a bun. Only at Salitre
[184] and Ujarrás does one see short and curled hair
[301] on the younger women. Flowers, ribbons, cheap barrettes and combs, often as many as six or seven, are favorite adornments for the head (fig. 9, *a–c*). Although men have short hair, there is a tendency to allow it to grow longer than is customary among non-Indians, particularly the forelocks which are combed straight back or hang on the face untouched (fig. 10, *a*, *d*).

Face painting seems to have been practised on the Caribbean side as late as the eighteen seventies. Gabb calls attention to it in Talamanca [83] and the then Bishop of Costa Rica, Bernardo A. Thiel, mentions some women and children whom he saw in Chirripó and states: " . . . They had two horizontal black bands

[Text continues top of P. 20(B)--analyst]

TRANSPORTATION

481 **By Land.** The most common method of transportation is by foot. The Talamancans are expert walkers on steep, rocky trails, some of which lead through tunnels of matted forest

[Text continues bottom of P. 20(B)--analyst]

[81] Compare this with Gabb, 1875, pp. 517–18.
[82] Stone, 1949, pp. 16–17.
[83] Gabb, 1875, p. 519.

302 (painted) below the eyes and on the cheeks. . . ."[84] In the 20th century, there is no trace [178] of paint in the Caribbean region. On the [177] Pacific side, a few women copy non-Indians by putting *achiote* on their cheeks in place of rouge and using lipstick which they buy. [751] Cocoa butter is applied occasionally as a protection against the sun.

292 In upper Talamanca and upper Chirripó on festive occasions, during short periods of group [479] work in building a house, clearing forests, hauling logs for a clan grave, etc., men still wear [237] headdresses made of white feathers and of macaw and eagle feathers (*see* Reunions).
301 Formerly the *usegLa* (*see* Social Organization) wore necklaces of jaguar teeth. Today, [825] boys use these necklaces "to get them used to hunting and take away fear of the jaguar." Beads made from sea shells are mixed with these teeth (fig. 12, *c*). The long all-shell [178] strings, called *chaquira* and mentioned in Spanish reports,[85] are not known now. Chil- [777] dren have a "good luck" necklace called *sewivu* in Cabécar. This is made from the bark 824 of a tree called *kuri* which is claimed to be immune to disease and to propagate of its own [237] accord. Sea shells, seeds (occasionally carved), bones, and jaguar, monkey, or alligator teeth are strung on it (*see* Manufacture). When financially possible, women wear strands of [439] red beads which are bought in trading posts or commissaries. There are no earrings in the remote sections.

301 On the Pacific side, the "good luck" neck- ● 184 laces of children have fewer or no teeth and [777] often a Roman Catholic charm or cross is worn. Here women wear earrings and single [439] strands of glass beads bought from traveling merchants.

TRANSPORTATION

481 roots. They are also adept at crossing swift boulder-filled rivers on foot. Their only aid when traveling is a long staff which they cut for this purpose before undertaking a journey.

[84] Fernández, 1883, vol. III, ftn. 10, p. 338.
[85] Fernández, 1882, vol. II, p. 152.

[P. 21 (A)] SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri
Cabecar

492 Very seldom on the Caribbean, but frequently
184 on the Pacific side, horses and oxen are used for transportation (*see* Domestic Animals; fig. 2, *d*).

501 By Water. The rivers in Bribri and Cabécar
[133] territory on the Pacific side do not lend themselves to water transportation. It is interesting to note that here the usual word for a boat, in both tongues, is a corruption of the Spanish
[192] *canoa: kanó* in Bribri; *kono* in Cabécar. The Bribri of the Caribbean littoral, however, use besides the term just given, the word *ru*.[86]

Both Gabb and Skinner call attention to the lack of water craft among the Bribri,[87] but Pittier mentions cedar and ceiba canoes, some equipped with a sail and rudder for the sea.[88] This last type is not seen today, but dugouts are fairly common in the Sixaola River, men and women paddling or poling when necessary (*see* Canoes). Balsa logs are tied together with vines making rafts and are used to cross rivers in parts of upper Talamanca. The Cabécares are not seamen in any sense, and only those married to Bribri in the Sixaola Plain are known to manage dugouts.

482 Carrying Devices. The tumpline (*see* Fibers) is used by men around the shoulders or chest. By women, it is worn around the head for heavy burdens. Babies are carried by women
[854] who tie them in a tumpline around the shoulders or in a piece of *mastate* around the waist (Fig. 9, d.).
[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 21(B)--Analyst]

MANUFACTURES

283 Fibers. There are many fiber plants used for
[824] cordage by these peoples. White cotton, one
248 or two bushes of which are found near every
[796] household, is mainly ceremonial in use, being fashioned into string for tying death bundles (*see* Funeral and Bone Burial). The women make this by rolling the deseeded fibers with the palm of their hands over their thighs. The result is an uneven lumpy string but one that
[777] they consider as very essential to prevent bad luck and to protect the dead. For use in sewing
[294] clothes, some women also make cotton thread on spindle whorls. Occasionally, small carrying nets are manufactured from it.
[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P. 21(B)--Analyst]

[86] *ru* is also the Boruca word for any water craft.
[87] Gabb, 1875, p. 523; Skinner, 1920, p. 86.

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
[P. 23(A)]
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri
Cabecar

286 nique. Very seldom does one see bags woven from cotton or *guaruomo* fiber. This last is found among the Cabécares, particularly on the Pacific side.

286 There are two types of weaving, single or double loop.[89] Those for ordinary purposes are single looped and are generally made with the fingers alone, although at times a bone needle is used to open the hole. The fine meshes, however, are made with needles of *pejibaye* thorns, and those a bit coarser with needles of deer or monkey bones. The coarse bags are always plain and undyed. The better ones, however, are decorated with horizontal bands of red-brown, yellow, and black. (*see* Dyes).

285 824 [482] **Baskets.** *Havas* or carrying baskets are made by men from vines (*bejuco de hierro*) and are suspended down the back by a tumpline. Baskets for household use only are fashioned from the vein of the white *bijugua* leaf or from palm leaves or cane. Crudely made vine basket-nets are used for setting hens and hung on the outer walls of the houses.

386 824 **Dyes.** Red dye for decorating net bags is obtained from the leaves of a vine (*Arrabidae chica* [H. & B.] Verl.)[90] and by rubbing the leaf of *Melastomaceae* sp. A darker red or purple-red comes from the leaf of the red *higuerilla* (*Ricinus communis* L.). On the Pacific side, yellow is made from the bulb of the *yuquilla* (*Curcuma longa* L.), whereas in the Talamanca region it is extracted from a vine called *skəbarko* in Bribri. Black is made by rubbing with *ojo de buey* (*Mucuna mutisiana* D.C.), and in Cabécar it is obtained from a leaf called *səkíbaL*. This must be mashed and rubbed dry on the fiber because if wet, it is ineffective.

352 **Hammocks.** Hammocks are made principally by Bribri men from *cabuya* thread although *pita* is also used (*see* Fibers), and occasionally by the Cabécares from bark cloth (*see* Bark Cloth). There are two sizes of Bribri hammocks. The largest one is generally used by the Bribri themselves and the smaller one,

[171]

[89] Skinner, 1920, pp. 58-62, gives a detailed description of these weaves.
[90] This is also used in the interior of South America.
[91] Gabb, 1875, pp. 511-12.

[P. 26(A)]

SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri
Cabecar

Past	Present	Future
5 days past *skfLi*		5 days after today *skfiki*
6 days past *térik*		6 days after today *teriki*

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 26(B)--ANALYST]

LIFE CYCLE

All events of life are bound by tabus and fear, and of necessity these occasions require the aid of the medicine man. Even on the Pacific slope where custom is less rigid, certain prohibitions and laws continue, although they are not freely discussed nor is their practise admitted to strangers.

Pre-natal. Both Gabb [99] and Pittier [99] have called attention to the fact that the Bribri believe that an unborn child can be influenced by certain objects seen or objects worn by the woman around her waist. This is not limited to the Bribri, however, but is also characteristic of the Cabécar. In addition to the information given by the above-mentioned authors, there are many more superstitions, some of which are cited below. Pregnant women cannot participate when certain types of poison are used for fishing (*see* Fishing), nor can they cut cacao trees. If they cut such a tree, when it is time for the child to die, he will wilt from the waist down in slow agony and will then require the aid of a medicine man to die (*see* Curing). A pregnant woman cannot eat from a pot, only from a leaf or a plate. If she fails to obey this rule, her child will be stupid or stricken dumb and not even the medicine man can cure him. If she eats *perico ligero* (sloth) it means that her family will be valiant and hard to kill. If the man is an *okyon* (*see* Death), he cannot bury while his wife is pregnant. There is also the belief that the first time a girl is in this state someone has to die. Occasionally, therefore, the family of a dead person search for a girl in her first pregnancy and a fight with her family ensues. This does not happen on the Pacific side.

Tapir meat is tabu. Some months before birth, the medicine man gives the expectant

[TEXT CONTINUES MIDDLE OF P. 26(B)--ANALYST]

[99] Gabb, 1875, p. 494.

[P. 28 (B)] SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri
Cabecar

857 arrow, or blow gun. A favorite pasttime for
[526] both sexes is to tie a vine to a log and swing it, jumping as with a rope.

992 On the Pacific side, both sexes go to grange schools when they reach the age of seven and continue for from four to six grades, depending upon the location. Besides Spanish, the official language of Costa Rica, first year teaching is carried out in the mother tongue. Ball games, swings, and see-saws, sewing, cooking, and manual training form an important part of the program. Attention is also paid to hygienic customs. In Cabagra, reading and sewing
[871] classes for adults have been started.

582 **Marriage.** The matrilineal clan, the dominant
[614] social organization of both these peoples (*see* Social Organization), controls marriage possibilities as one cannot form a union within a blood group related to one's mother. The con-
594 trol of the family falls to the mother if she is
562 alive. Even the men respect her and cases have been known where the mother has beaten male
595 members. It is also important to remember that four wives are permitted (*see* Myths: *Cacao*). This is a practise followed on both
● [184] sides of the range although it is as yet unseen among the youth of the Pacific slope. As a
[582] rule, a man marries sisters. The first wife is always the head of the family and can rule the others.

584 Courtship is relatively simple. In Talamanca and Chirripó the custom, which has almost entirely disappeared, was for the man to go to a house where there was a girl-child and ask for her as a wife saying, however, that he would care for her as a daughter. Then he would cut the wood for cooking, fish, make *mastate*, in fact, do daily chores for the girl's mother until the child turned twelve or reached puberty. During this intermediary period, the girl would become accustomed to the man and would run to meet him on his visits to
[591] receive some little gift. When the time came, he took her to his parents' home. There they lived in the communal house, or, if his father had too many wives with offspring, he built a house apart but at the side of his parents' house.

In 1959, the man visits his prospective wife three times. He asks her parents' permission to marry and, particularly on the Pacific side, he

[P. 29 (A)] SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri
Cabecar

584 asks his parents. There have been a few cases in this area when permission was denied. Then, [583] the couple ran away to other indigenous communities of different tongues, for example, the Cabécares among the Bribri or vice versa. The writer does not know of similar cases in Talamanca.

583 When the answer is satisfactory, the couple 591 live from eight days to one year in trial marriage in the house of the girl. The boy works for her family cultivating the land, chopping wood, etc., until he takes his woman away to his parents' home. He must also give the girl material for dresses which she makes into clothes. If he already has a wife then he gives [595] a present of food or animals to the new woman's family and visits her periodically until he feels it is time to take her to his home or his parents' home.

583 On the Pacific side, social pressure against trial marriages is at times evidenced by the [184] contemporaries of the couple, not by their [177] elders. This is due to the influence of the school. Here when first married, the pair 591 generally stay in the house of the father of the boy, although this is not a set rule. The length of time they live there depends upon the father's age. However, from six to eight years is not uncommon. If the mother of the girl is poor and a widow, the couple go to live with her. If while living with either family on the Pacific slope, one of the pair does not get along with the prospective in-laws, they build a house apart but close to the parents. Eventually on this site, the man builds his own home.

595 In Ujarrás, there are several cases among the Cabécares of a woman and two or three men living in the same house. The woman washes and cooks only when she feels like it. When she doesn't the men take care of her.

586 On both sides, the men do not like their women to travel alone for fear they might go off with another man. When a woman leaves her husband, the children stay with the father.

182 **Death and Burial.** The most important phase 761 of the life cycle as far as ceremony and prestige are concerned is death. This is when social organization flanked by the unanswerable or mysterious aspects of religion combine in a pageant that might well put to shame many 764 theatrical producers. In the first place, there

767 always confined to funeral ceremonies where
533 they chanted the deeds and merits of the de-
[775] ceased as well as sped the soul along on its
journey to the other world through song. The
[614] Bribri Singers came from the *stsukur* or *stu'gur* clan according to Gabb and Pittier,[105] but the elders and medicine men in 1956 claimed that they belonged to the *síbawak*, *korrebué*, or *sinąbwak* groups. Gabb states that their office
[428] was hereditary,[106] and that they were next to the *usegLa* in importance. Pittier suggests heredity [107] and notes that they lived only by the lower Coen and had a number of assistants the highest of whom were called *ko*, and apprentices known as *siní*.[108] He adds that elaborate preparation was necessary before the title of Singer was won. This is not exactly in keeping with the idea that their position was hereditary.

[614] Cabécar Singers had to come from the following clans: *kibegruwák*, *síbawak*, *bLeriwak*, and *sənitswa* (*see* The Clans and Myths: *Protectors of Clans*). Their name in this language is *səgLə*.

[198] Gabb,[109] speaking only about the Bribri, calls attention to the fact that the songs of *stsukur* were in a language which neither he nor the uninitiated could understand. As Lehmann has pointed out, however, the Bribri Singers were in reality a Cabécar group,[110] according to his spelling and that of Pittier, the *korrbué*. We use *korrebué* because this is the pronunciation given by the Bribri today. There is, nevertheless, another angle to this problem, particularly if one accepts the statement that the Bribri Singers could come from one of the three clans mentioned above. This
[198] is the use of a "sacred language" by the
[177] medicine men of both Talamancan peoples when singing and the adoption of foreign songs even by the laymen. These aspects will be discussed later under Curing and Songs, respectively.

764 The Pacific Bribri and Cabécares, in lieu
756 of Singers, have a ceremony called *setéšrwək* in Bribri which is carried out by the medicine
●184 man when someone dies (*see* First Burial).

[105] Gabb, 1875, p. 508; Pittier, 1938, p. 17.
[106] Gabb, 1875.
[107] Pittier, 1895, p. 18.
[108] Pittier, 1938, pp. 17–18. Could there be a connec-

764 it in between them. He tied the whole twelve times around and once down the center with the *burío*. The wailing of the mourner continued. The Burier next took a pole and laid it lengthwise down the center of the body tying the bundle to it but leaving a piece projecting at each end to serve as a handle. His helper took the fire from where it had been used to flex the leaves and added it to the
[775] ceremonial one which had the food for the dead beside it.

At this moment, the mourner came into the house and seeing what was taking place, yelled in a frightful voice and again disappeared into the bush screaming her singsong chant. She soon returned and gazed at the body bundle which lay wrapped and tied to the stick on top of a banana leaf.

The apprentice and the Burier cleared the remaining banana leaves from the screen, the Burier alone putting them in a pile in a plantain patch adjoining the house. He then took three cockroaches and wrapped them in a small leaf placing the whole in between the
[825] leaves of the body bundle. This was supposed to rid the house of roaches for at least six months.

The apprentice took the objects from beside the ceremonial fire, leaving the gourd with water and the leaf with *chilate*. The Burier took the clothes of the girl and a stick. He put some of the *chilate* within the leaves of the body bundle but left the greater portion with the water at the spot where the child died as
[775] food for the spirit which they believe returns to the house for three days after death. During this period, it always makes noise and has been known to molest the household.

The Burier and the apprentice set forth with the corpse, food, and personal effects of the dead. On the way to the place where the body was to be left, wherever a path crossed the main trail, sticks were cut to bar the
[775] possibility of the spirit wandering from the road when going from the resting place of the body to the home. The procession went to a thicket about 500 yards from the dwelling. Here a pretense was made to bury the bundle, the earth and stones being lightly put aside so that a shallow depression remained at the roots of the thorny bushes.

[777] [184] On the Pacific side, cemeteries have been

[P. 33(B)] SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri
Cabecar

764 blessed by the Roman Catholic priest, and the
[797] dead are buried in the earth shortly after life
[184] ceases. The medicine man and the Burier are
the only persons to touch the body, however.
The preparations, including a funeral feast and
the blocking of cross roads on the main trail,
are carried out by both Bribri and Cabécar
with much of the detail noted in Talamanca.
[184] A plank of wood under the body, chiefly in
Ujarrás, or the body wrapped in *bijagua* leaves
or a cloth were the usual procedures on the
Pacific side before placing the dead in the
[177] grave. The writer was present, however, at
Cabagra in 1956 when a coffin was used for
the first time. The school gave the planks and
nails and lent the hammer for its manufacture.
A description of this death and burial follows.

As soon as the woman died, a rope wick
was lighted by the body. Everything immedi-
768 ately around the deceased, such as her bed
764 which was made of cane poles and a reed
mattress, a sack which was over the bed and
upon which she lay, were removed by the
Burier. On this occasion there were three
Buriers and one apprentice. The bed and
mattress were thrown over a cliff, and the
sack was used to line the coffin. The corpse
764 was wrapped in a cheap cotton blanket by the
Buriers and put in the coffin. The best dress of
the departed, one of blue cotton cloth with
yellow dots, was placed on top of the wrapped
body and the planks for the cover were nailed
on.

During this whole procedure, the family
disappeared and none of the stand-bys would
look at what was happening. When the coffin
was ready, a girl took branches which had been
cut for the purpose and outlined a path stretch-
ing from both doors of the house to the main
trail. The Buriers then tied the coffin onto a
litter with rope. As soon as this was done, the
girl went ahead down the trail to the cemetery,
blocking any opening in the path with branch-
es. When a river had to be crossed, branches
were placed on the rocks and at the shallow
edges to mark the way so that the soul could
[775] not stray on its journey back to the house
from the grave. The Buriers followed with the
coffin. One carried a wooden cross, a lighted
wick made of *mastate* (*see* Bark Cloth), and
an unlighted candle.

At the cemetery, the wick and the candle

765 of an individual a year or more after death. The best description of such an event is pre-
114 sented by Gabb who assisted at the bone burial
765 of the last famous "King of Talamanca,"
[643] Santiago. This has the historic value of an eyewitness report of a ceremony which today is impossible to duplicate, and forms an essential contribution to the cultural background of these people.[113]

765 Only in upper Talamanca and upper Chir-
[184] ripó is this type of funeral still practised, and
[652] at that secretly, because it is prohibited by the Costa Rican authorities. The dwelling of
[756] the medicine man takes the place of the "casa grande" or big house which was used for the purpose of ceremonials in connection with such burials. Here the bones are taken from the leaf bundle and wrapped in *mastate* by the Burier. Then this is placed on a long bench
533 beside the doorway. The medicine man sings,
765 mentioning *sibu* and recounting the life of the deceased and all his actions, for example: how he planted, worked, what he did, and where he went. The song also gives the reason for his death. If the dead was female, the song
[535] recounts her doings. A feast follows and some-
765 times a dance.[114] To the beat of drums (*see* Musical Instruments) and rattles, the people and the medicine man accompany the Buriers
[764] who carry the bone bundle to the graveyard. Generally, this is situated on a ridge or near the headwaters of a stream. Here are located the clan graves known as *pu*. These are deep,
[824] round holes lined with four planks of an extremely hard wood (*Xamboxylum* sp. called *surí* in Cabécar) which does not rot easily. The Bribri line the bottom with stones, but the Cabécar do not bother to do this. The Bribri are more particular than the Cabécar in that the bones should not in any way touch the earth. An additional plank is inclined over
[614] the top as further protection. Each clan has
[178] its own grave which is used until it is full. Today, however, clans that are allowed to inter-marry are buried in the same shaft. The Burier removes the planks of the grave and puts the bone package in with his hands while the medicine man sings, explaining that now the soul has gone and will never return. After-
[279] wards, he arranges the planks as before. Chicha

[113] Gabb, 1875, pp. 500-503.
[114] Pittier, 1938.

765 sacrificing of a military macaw (*Ara militaris*)
782 over the grave.
825

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

614 certain clans still controls and keeps ritual
[423] property. This consists of drums or gold pre-
[756] Columbian figures (*see* Myths: *Clan Protec-*
[422] *tors*). Formerly the *usegLa* administered jus-
tice within the clan. Now the medicine man
[627] sometimes assumes this role although the most
[692] usual method is to take matters into their own hands. In ex-
[681] treme cases such as a sexual offense within the
clan or murder, poison is given or the offender
● [184] is buried alive. On the Pacific slope, land
[423] tenure by individual clans disappears. Three
or two groups, as the case may be, settle in
a given section such as Cabagra or China
Kichá, and own land as a single unit.

These people know, however, of their
[484] Talamancan counterparts and keep as a goal
[184] the idea of visiting, at least to know personally,
[422] the home site of their clan on the Caribbean
watershed. Clan-owned ritual property does
not appear on the Pacific. The family unit
692 on this side has been known to administer
justice, but this task is usually left to the Costa
Rican civil authorities in the nearest center.

614 Gabb does not seem to have considered the
[114] clans, rather he makes a distinction in social
[565] classes,[116] indicating the Cabécar *usegLa*, or
[793] high priest, as the spiritual head of both Bribri
and Cabécar, while the temporal ruler was
[643] Bribri. This lay head was known as the "King"
and tradition holds that there were two clans
of "Kings." These were not inter-marriageable.
Only one clan of these remains today (*see*
Non-Documental History of Talamanca). The
793 Indians recount that the most powerful indi-
692 vidual was the *usegLa* who spoke both Bribri
and Cabécar. It is said that complaints were
passed from the "King" to him for decisive
action. On such occasions, he retired to a
secret and sacred cave which had much *pita*
(*see* Fibers) at the entrance. There he had
sacred jaguars known as "dogs" and snakes at
his command. The last *usegLa* is supposed to
[164] have died from smallpox during the first half
of the 20th century. The clan of the *usegLa*
614 still exists, however, in the upper Coen, Tala-
197

[P.68(A)] SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri
Cabecar

* 539 said the monkey, and he shouted with such force that he scared even himself.

825 The jaguar tried to do the same but he couldn't. This is because *sibu* felt that if a powerful creature like the jaguar would also have a tremendously loud voice, every animal and person in the world would be afraid of him. Whereas it didn't matter if the smaller monkey who lived in the trees could make a loud noise. *sibu*, however, would not let the monkey eat with his hands. So to this day if he eats fruit, he has to bite it from the bottom and eat up without touching it with his hands.

[821] The Congo monkey is wise, however, and
[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P.68(B)--QUALYST]

RECREATION

517 521 **Visits.** People are not in the habit of visiting for the sake of chatting or exchanging news. In the large houses, each family group of women and older children relaxes by the individual fire, squatting on low benches and talking in almost inaudible voices. The men lie in hammocks or busy themselves repairing an arrow or some similar implement. Elder men [538] and women often tell theological or lay "histories" (*see* Myths) after suppertime. On the ● [184] Pacific side, the same general pattern is followed although both men and women are seen talking on the long low benches or on logs more often than in hammocks. Conversation 521 is based on crops; how they are going to plant and where and when; dates of *juntas* (*see* Reunions) to prepare the ground, etc. Often, [184] on the Pacific side, women join these talks with the men. Women among themselves talk of children or household chores. There is little [888] interest in gossip. Elder people are referred to as *kéké*, a term of great respect. Occasionally, 431 presents of a piece of game are made to a neighboring household, especially on the Pacific side.

574 Visitors are limited to the traveler to or from 484 one side of the range. He or rather they, as these people do not undertake a trip alone, [576] pause at the door of a house and wait for permission to enter. It depends upon their social importance how much and what kind
[TEXT CONTINUES MIDDLE OF P.68(B)--QUALYST]

*** *Chordeiles acutipennis Texensis* Lawrence, vulgarly called "Texas Nighthawk" in English.

[P.69(A)] SA19 Talamanca SA19 Bribri Cabecar

476 574 273 traditions, are known by the Spanish term *juntas* or *bLo-šé* (chicha-to drink) in Bribri, or in Cabécar *dí*[204]-*šɔ* (chicha-to drink). They are held when there is need of group labor such as building a house, clearing a field, making a bridge, etc. It is the only time except [571] at death or bone burial that groups of people meet. The person giving the *junta* must supply liberal quantities of chicha and at least sufficient food. Dancing with singing, particularly [535 533] on the Caribbean side, forms part of the entertainment. On the Pacific, singing is not as [184 534]

[Text continues TOP of P.69(B)--Analys]

THE ARTS

534 **Musical Instruments.** Upright drums are the preferred instruments of Talamanca. In pre-[172] Columbian graves they are found fashioned of clay and occur from miniature sizes to three [824 237 381 824] feet in height. Today they are made of palm or cedar with one end covered with iguana skin and the other end open. The skin is fastened to the wood with a glue made from the red fruit of the *butsi* tree and is then tied with *pita*. Their size varies from two and a half to three feet and they are played by hand. Formerly a small all-wooden drum with a [766 184] U-shaped slit[205] was used at the burial of chiefs. These were played with a bone or a stick. The people on the Pacific side do not have the upright drum but use the Chiricano *caja* or round drum of palm wood covered at [237] both ends with wild boar skin and played with two sticks.

534 237 In Talamanca, and as a rule in all *jawá* houses, armadillo shells are rubbed with a stick while those of land turtles are used in a similar manner or as clappers. The conch shell is made [202] into a horn to relay messages but not for a musical instrument. Rattles of gourds filled with seeds or pebbles and with fowl bone or wooden handles are also seen.

533 **Tempo.** There are varied beats for the upright drum: 4 short and 1 long; 3 short and 1 long; 2 short and 1 long. As many as twenty drums were played at one time in Talamanca when the Singer functioned. On the Pacific [184] side, the old pieces are seldom heard. The

[Text continues middle of P. 69(B)--Anal;ST]

[192] [205] *dí* is also the word for water and is often used for river.

[P.69(B)] SA19 Talamanca SA19 Bribri Cabecar

476 common and the accordions, guitars, and the
574 round drum or *caja* take the place of the
273 aboriginal upright drum (*see* The Dance). The
[184] guests, who wear their best clothing (*see*
[534] Adornment), repay their host by giving their labor free until the project is completed. These affairs are noted for the excessive drinking.
[578] Few if any fights occur, however, and the over-intoxicated as a rule simply fall asleep guarded by his female companions or vice-versa, and the joint work of the men begins as usual the following day lasting until noon.

THE ARTS

The

533 majority of the dances and music consist of
535 the Chiricano *son*, *punta*, and the waltz. The
[534] accompaniment is formed by an accordion, guitar, or violin and the round drum.

535 Dances. There are many different dances, both in connection with ceremonies and for sheer pleasure. The Bribri in particular have the greatest number of secular dances which
[476] are performed at gatherings called *juntas* usually held to build a house, fell a clearing, or some such joint labor where friends come in to help. Many of the songs that accompany the dances are in a language not understandable
[198] to the singers. Some are sung in Térraba. There are two traditional dance methods: in a line or in a circle. The circle type is called *buLik-Lak*. If drums accompany the performers, they remain outside of the ring. Arms are raised horizontally and interlocked. The first movement consists of one step to the right side and a short one to the left with the body inclined slightly forward. The second movement starts in a similar fashion but the beat changes and the two steps are more marked, the second ending in a small jump or hop. Suddenly, the dancers go in the opposite direction and continue with the second movement only. The sideward hop necessarily makes the circle go forward and backward. In the *surbon*, a circle dance, the ring is formed first by men and then women put their heads between the arms of the men and all participate.

There are a number of line dances, for

[198] Gabb, 1875, p. 517.

535 dance which was performed in a circle by men
224 and women with one person singing but the
533 whole group joining in the chorus. The song recounted the experiences during a hunt.

535 There are various dances held in connection
[764] with death and burial but they are seldom seen today outside of upper Talamanca.

184 Pittier[208] mentions a bone dance performed
[765] at the time of secondary burial by men if the deceased was an adult and by women if a child. The bone dance witnessed by the writer was carried out by a line of women and one of men. The person taking the place of the
[533] Singer (*see* Death) chanted the life history of the departed, and kept time with a gourd rattle. His four assistants in the line of men had drums under their arms which they beat as they danced.

[756] A different bone dance which is a remnant
[727] of a war dance with trophy heads is occasionally performed when the medicine man is feeling particularly sure of himself and wants to celebrate. Men and women form a circle with interlocked arms. It is said that skulls were
[178] once balanced on the arms. Today, nothing is placed there. The men sing and the women join in the chorus singing *ékéké* meaning "good" or "well."

533 **Songs.** All sacred songs are basically Cabécar even though they may be sung in Bribri. The Medicine Man and sometimes the Burier
[198] sing these songs which are usually in ancient Cabécar and are not understood by the masses.

Lay songs are common to the Bribri and very rare among the Cabécar. The Bribri delight in inventing songs to fit the occasion. Both men and women like to sing and do so on the slightest provocation when working, bathing, washing, or minding the baby. The addition of words only for their sound is
[197] characteristic. Likewise, many Térraba words are found in Bribri songs, the meaning of which is unknown to the singer. In fact, the
[195] sung language permits all sorts of liberties as well as having a certain vocabulary of its own.

[773] western Panama. The traditional home of the Bribri
[173] is in northwest Panama. *See* Stone, 1952, p. 252.

[208] Segarra y Julia, 1907, pp. 594–95.

[209] Pittier, 1938, pp. 25–26.